## CANADIAN SECURITY CONCERNS WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE THREAT OF ISLAMIC EXTREMISM

Notes for Remarks to Subcommittee on Immigration, Border Security, and Claims of the United States House of Representatives Committee on the Judiciary:

#### David B. Harris

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#### Good morning.

My name is Dave Harris. I am a lawyer and Director of the Terrorist Intelligence Program of *INSIGNIS* Strategic Research Inc., Ottawa, and was formerly Chief of Strategic Planning of the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS).

As Senior Fellow for Terrorism and National Security with the Canadian Coalition for Democracies (CCD)(<a href="http://www.canadiancoalition.com/">http://www.canadiancoalition.com/</a>), I take this opportunity to thank the Coalition for their sponsorship of my appearance today. I also salute the Canadian Coalition Against Terror (C-CAT) (<a href="http://www.c-cat.ca/">http://www.c-cat.ca/</a>), an organization of Canadian victims of terrorism dedicated to alerting Canadians to the growing menace of terrorism in Canada and abroad.

In a previous appearance before this subcommittee shortly before 9/11, I cautioned that much would have to be done to fight Canada's drift into terror-haven status. Six years later, I must tell you that Canada is heavily infiltrated by terrorists. Canada is a recruiting, planning, financing and launch point for international terrorism. And Canada is certainly a target of terrorism. With particular reference to our leading terror threat – Islamic extremism – I will suggest why this has come about, and note the glimmer of hope that has recently emerged.

In 1998, the CSIS director testified before Canada's Senate that fifty terror organizations – including the world's most notorious – were present in Canada. In terms of numbers of terror groups, this made us number two in the world, after the United States. By 9/11, the previous twenty years had transformed Canada from terrorist backwater to a significant piece on terror's international chessboard.

Testifying before a Canadian Senate subcommittee, the Deputy Director Operations of Canada's intelligence service last week warned of Canadian residents who are "graduates of terrorist training camps and campaigns, including experienced combatants from conflicts in Afghanistan, Bosnia, Chechnya and elsewhere."

"As well," he added," Canadian citizens or residents have been implicated in terrorist attacks and conspiracies elsewhere in the world. A young man" – Mr. Khawaja – "is now awaiting trial here in Ottawa because of his alleged involvement in a bombing conspiracy in the United Kingdom. Others have been involved in plots against targets in the United States, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Israel, Singapore, Pakistan and other countries."

The examples are many. Groupe Fatah Kamel helped make Montreal the hub of international GIA Algerian-Islamic terrorist activity. Maybe this is why France's chief counterterror magistrate spoke of Canada, in his report, in the same breath as he referred to Bosnia and Algeria.

Even as a failed refugee claimant, GIA terrorist and Groupe Fatah Kamel member Ahmed Ressam prowled Canada. An alert American border guard in 1999 was the only obstacle between Ressam's explosives-packed car at the Canadian frontier, and devastation at his target, LA International Airport. 9/11 would have come early.

Canada's immigration and refugee system has been a big part of the problem. In *per capita* terms, Canada takes in double the number of immigrants, and three or four times the number of refugees, as the United States. This is to say that thirty-one million Canadians each year welcome 230,000 immigrants. In addition, the 500 refugee claimants of 1977 have been transformed into 29,000 a year.

Canada cannot effectively screen and integrate such numbers and we've seen the proof. Sober minds regard the immigration system as largely a vote-importing scheme.

But the problem has gone well beyond immigration, and is metastasizing into the terrible phenomenon of homegrown terror. This term, of course, refers to longstanding Canadian residents and citizens – possibly even born and bred of Canadian-born parents – who have turned traitor, and mark their neighbors and society for death.

The chilling possibilities have been emerging this week with Friday's massive police raids in the Toronto area. These netted youthful Muslims who allegedly had three times as much ammonium nitrate fertilizer as was used in the 1995 Oklahoma City blast. The Toronto detainees were Canadian residents, and most, apparently, Canadian citizens.

Saudi money and Saudi-trained and inspired clerics and material, combines with the internet, to help turn some Muslim youth against their fellow Canadians. This might make sense of moderate clerics' complaints that 80% of North American mosques are under radical influence.

Questionable organizations like the Canadian Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR-CAN), a chapter of the controversial Washington-based Council on American Islamic Relations (CAIR), have alienated many moderate Muslims with unreliable statistics and breathless allegations of anti-Muslim behaviour. In light of recent arrests, CAIR-CAN is apparently embarked on a charm offensive, but six years after 9/11 it has yet to condemn publicly, by name, certain Islamic terrorist groups – not even Hezbollah, which is reliably said to have done targeting reconnaissance on Canadian sites.

At the operational level, there is great respect and cooperation between American and Canadian agencies and services. Political leadership in Canada has been another story, and this goes far to explain our malaise.

For thirteen years the Liberal Party of Canada had been in power playing up to, rather than mastering, radical interests. As Finance Minister, Mr. Paul Martin, later Prime Minister, attended with another cabinet minister a fundraising dinner put on by a Tamil Tigers terrorist front. The Liberals refused to ban the Tigers under the Criminal Code, owing, it is believed, to Tiger control of important Toronto electoral constituencies. And more, during the Liberal Party years in power, the government refused to ban Hamas and Hezbollah. They went so far as to defend their right to exist legally in Canada. Later the Liberals did ban these terror groups, but only after public outrage, and in one case, the threat of court action.

Now, for just over 100 days the Conservative Party has been in power and there have been hopeful signs. Although constrained by their minority government status, the new government

has acted decisively to ban the Tamil Tigers, bringing us into line with other jurisdictions. The evidence is that the government is constructively releasing information about current risks to Canada rather than denying it or hiding it for fear of antagonizing terror-sympathetic voting-blocs.

So in the end, will the Conservative government sustain the fight against Islamic radicalism and terrorism? In my view, if the government is sincere, it will do the following:

- 1. Consider a moratorium on immigration and refugee intake until we get a handle on our policies and process for mitigating related security risks;
- 2. Provide appropriate resources and training to the policing, security and intelligence community, including reliable travel-document and other identification systems;
- 3. Develop the wherewithal to effectively eliminate the risk of Islamic extremists and their sympathizers surfacing in strategic positions within the machinery of Government in Canada, and within our police, security and intelligence forces;
- 4. Bring an end to government and especially police and security organizations' "outreach" with Arab or Islamic representative groups, where there is an inappropriate refusal on their part to condemn by name Hezbollah, Palestinian Islamic Jihad and similar supremacist terrorist organizations;
- 5. Eliminate Saudi Arabian funding of mosques, academic and other institutions; and,
- 6. Without fear or favour or political correctness tell it like it is to Canadians, about terrorism and its sources.

Let us hope that Canada's new government will recognize the gravity of the situation facing Canadians, and live up to these requirements.

#### **ATTACHMENT 1**

Terror suspect accused of wanting to behead prime minister: lawyer

CanWest News Service

Published: Tuesday, June 06, 2006

BRAMPTON, Ont — A 25-year-old restaurant worker is accused of planning to storm Parliament Hill, behead Prime Minister Stephen Harper, take hostages and behead them unless the group's demands were met, according to his lawyer.

Gary Batasar, the lawyer for Steven Chand (also known by his Muslim name Abdul Shakur), emerged from court Tuesday saying Crown prosecutors had provided him with an eight-page "summary" of the charges against his client and 16 other men arrested last week.

"My client is being accused of plotting to storm the Parliament buildings, take hostages (and) make demands to remove Canadian troops from Afghanistan and to free Muslim prisoners," Batasar said outside the Brampton, Ont. courthouse.

"He is supposed to have planned to behead hostages if his demands weren't met ... and to want to behead the prime minister. The last thing was that they were going to storm the CBC building downtown (in Toronto) to take over communications to broadcast their message."

Chand is one of 17 men, all Muslims, who were arrested Friday and charged with planning a terrorist attack. Police said the men were planning to build a simple but effective bomb using fertilizer and diesel fuel.

Sources said the men were in an advanced stage of planning two attacks: a truck bombing to destroy a significant building and an attack involving opening fire on a crowded public place.

Fifteen of the accused, including five young offenders, appeared in court Tuesday under tight security for an initial hearing and to set dates for bail hearings.

Batasar would not comment on whether his client denies the accusations, but said: "Mr. Chand is certainly quite perturbed by these allegations."

In Ottawa, Harper brushed off the alleged death threats with a joke as he exited the House of Commons following the question period.

"I can live with all these threats as long as they don't come from my caucus," he told reporters.

At Tuesday's hearing, the accused shuffled into the crowded courtroom in three separate groups, handcuffed together and wearing white T-shirts and grey sweatpants. Friends and family of the men filled almost all of the available seats, with about 15 reporters lining the back rows of the court.

The men listened while their lawyers argued over their clients' treatment since they were jailed last Friday night, the inadequacy of Crown disclosure of evidence and their clients' inability to meet with their lawyers or family members.

Asad Ansari, 21, Fahim Ahmad, 21, Zakaria Amara, 20, Qayyum Abdul Jamal, 43, Amin Mohamed Durrani, 19, and Jahmaal James, 23, are to return to court June 12 for bail hearings, along with three of the young offenders, who cannot be identified.

Shareef Abdelhaleen, 30, will return on July 4 for a bail hearing. One of the youths will also have a bail hearing on June 16 and Saad Khalid, 19, is to be back in court on June 30.

"What we have received today is such bare bones, so little, that it's virtually impossible to comment on the authenticity of the synopsis that has been provided to us," said Arif Raza, the lawyer for Khalid.

He said his 19-year-old client is accused of attending a training camp in Ontario and was arrested at the time of the delivery of the tonnes of ammonium nitrate, which police had intercepted and replaced with an inert substance.

Donald McLeod, lawyer for Jahmaal James, said defence lawyers have complained their clients were being held in segregation, under 24-hour supervision and were not allowed to use the telephone or to speak to their family members.

He also complained of restrictions in his access to his client, including only being allowed to speak to him through a Plexiglas shield and then only with guards present. He added that the accused are being refused their religious rights.

"They're Muslim," McLeod said. "Clearly they'd like to be able to pray as a group. I'd like to facilitate that religious freedom they're entitled to."

Anser Farooq, who is representing a number of the accused men, questioned whether his clients would receive a fair trial, given the extensive media attention the case has drawn.

"My clients are entitled to a fair trial ... and to be treated the same way as anyone else who has been accused of an offence," he said. "They are presumed innocent — they are innocent until they are proven guilty in court."

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# Alleged terror plot revives U.S. calls for fence along Canadian border

#### **Sheldon Alberts**

CanWest News Service

Tuesday, June 06, 2006

WASHINGTON - The discovery of an alleged homegrown terror plot in Canada sparked new calls Monday for a security fence along America's northern border and prompted a wave of U.S. media coverage questioning if Canada had become a "gateway for terrorists."

While White House press secretary Tony Snow expressed gratitude and "relief" at the success of the RCMP terror bust, a prominent Republican congressman said the plot underscores the need for physical barriers and the quick implementation of new border ID requirements for travelers entering the U.S. from Canada.

"Maybe this will help Canadians see the need for something like that, and not blame America, and not think of it being some antagonistic proposal on our part," Colorado Rep. Tom Tancredo said in an interview with Canwest News Service.

"The border is incredibly porous. Whether people like hearing it or not, it's absolutely true."

Tancredo was a leading proponent of strict immigration and border security legislation, passed in the House of Representatives last December, that would require the Department of Homeland Security to study the construction of a wall along the Canada-U.S. border.

The proposal lacks support in the Senate, and is currently in limbo, but has become a pre-occupation for Canadian diplomats in Washington who worry it could gain favour if U.S. lawmakers perceive a greater terror threat from Canada.

More worrisome to Canadian officials is the impact the terror arrests could have on their efforts to delay implementation of a border ID plan formally called the Western Hemisphere Travel Initiative that will require Canadians to carry passports or another form of secure ID at land borders by Jan. 1, 2008.

The Senate recently approved legislation to delay implementation by 18 months, to June 2009, but House conservatives want to press ahead with the plan on schedule, said Tancredo.

"I just would like to get this done so we can iron out any problems we encounter and get it going as soon as possible. I certainly don't think we should postpone it," he said.

"We are trying to forge a chain of security around America," said Tancredo, who said U.S. conservatives only want "physical barriers where it makes sense."

"It does not have to be terribly invasive and it doesn't have to bother people who are trying to come to America the right way."

The arrests continued to draw extensive U.S. media's attention Monday, but not all of the coverage was re-assuring for Canadian officials trying to convince Americans they are not at risk.

CNN dubbed one segment on the plot Security Watch: The Enemy North of the Border. On Fox News Channel, the headline superimposed over a report on the arrests read, U.S.-Canadian Border: Gateway for Terrorists.

Over the weekend, New York Rep. Peter King warned Americans to be concerned about Canada because its lax immigration policy had allowed the country to become a haven to a "disproportionate" number of al-Qaida members.

The sudden, intense U.S. scrutiny of Canada's performance in the war on terror provoked alarm from Liberal Leader Bill Graham, who rose in question period in the House of Commons to demand Prime Minister Stephen Harper take action to denounce "these inaccurate attacks on Canada's immigration policies."

Harper promised to "deal with the inaccuracies that are being perpetuated in some circles."

To that end, Canadian Ambassador Michael Wilson has written key members of Congress outlining details of the Ontario arrests and assuring U.S. lawmakers there was no threat to America.

"The ambassador says wants to get the facts out," said Bernard Etzinger, spokesman at the Canadian Embassy in Washington.

"What has been accurately reflected in the (U.S.) media is that this was a homegrown operation and limited to Canada."

The FBI said on Saturday the Canadian suspects had "limited" contact with two Georgia men, Ehsanul Sadequee and Syed Ahmed, who are accused of plotting terror attacks in the U.S. The two men allegedly traveled to Canada to meet with Islamic extremists in Toronto.

But Frances Townsend, the White House homeland security adviser, sought to downplay concerns that Canada was an incubator for al-Qaida-like terror cells.

"I don't know what a 'disproportionately' large number of al-Qaida is," Townsend said on CNN. "Do they have concerns (in Canada)? Absolutely, just as we do here, with individuals who are second, and third generation, who are radicalized and use local mosques and local centres to congregate and share radical ideas."

She downplayed the threat of terrorists slipping into the U.S. from Canada, saying the U.S. has spent \$120 million on advanced technology and tripled the number of border guards along the Canada-U.S. border.© CanWest News Service 2006

## Homegrown terrorists groomed for radical roles

#### **James Gordon**

CanWest News Service; Ottawa Citizen

Wednesday, June 07, 2006

OTTAWA - There is no consistent profile of a homegrown terrorist, but common factors such as "grooming" by an extremist mentor play a critical role, according to a British government report.

The recently released document attempts to dissect the radicalization of four U.K. citizens who carried out deadly transit bombings in London last summer.

The brazen attacks were all the more shocking because they were carried out by seemingly normal, well-adjusted youths who rarely caused trouble.

"Mentors may first identify individuals from within larger groups who may be susceptible to radicalization; then 'groom' them privately in small groups until the individuals in the group begin feeding off each other's radicalization," the report reads.

Last weekend, police here arrested 17 people - mostly young Canadians - alleging they took part in plot to bomb targets in either Toronto or Ottawa. None of the accusations has been proven in court.

The arrests come after years of repeated warnings from the Canadian Security Intelligence Service and senior politicians that second- and third-generation "homegrown" terrorists were increasingly eyeing targets here.

According to the British report, there are few characteristics common among domestic extremists discovered thus far. Some are well educated, some not. Many were single, but several had families and children. Stable upbringings and lives filled with trauma and abuse were both noted.

A handful of outside factors have occasionally appeared, however, including grooming of young extremists by an influential elder.

"In the early stages, group conversation may be around being a good Muslim and staying away from drugs and crime, with no hint of an extremist agenda," it says. "Gradually, individuals may be exposed to propaganda about perceived injustices to Muslims across the world, with international conflict involving Muslims interpreted as examples of a wide-spread war on Islam."

The next step, the document says, is to convince potential terrorists that there is justification for violent jihad in religious texts such as the Qur'an and the Hadith. If a suicide attack is required, time is spent discussing the importance of commitment to Islam through martyrdom.

"There is little evidence of overt compulsion," it says. "The extremists appear rather to rely on the development of individual commitment and group bonding and solidarity."

While mentors will often target places of worship to acquire new recruits, "evidence suggests that extremists are increasingly moving away from mosques to conduct their activities in private homes or other premises to avoid detection."

Use of the Internet for propaganda, grooming and training also continues to grow.

"Websites are difficult to monitor and trace," the report says. "They can be established anywhere and have global reach; they are anonymous, cheap and instantaneous and it requires no special expertise to set up a website."

CSIS frequently describes the threat from homegrown terrorism in internal intelligence reports, which are always heavily censored. Tidbits occasionally emerge, including warnings that domestic extremists are, "valued for their ability to blend into their communities and circulate freely without fear of detection, especially with western passports."

Last month, CSIS deputy director Jack Hooper said the threat from homegrown extremist is now equal to that posed by outsiders.

"We must be vigilant on two fronts: that which is coming to us from the outside environment and, increasingly, that which is growing up in our communities," he told a Senate national security committee.

Ottawa Citizen

## Alleged terrorist not that 'type of guy,' say schoolmates

#### **Jeffrey Hawkins**

CanWest News Service; National Post

Wednesday, June 07, 2006

TORONTO - Students at Stephen Leacock Collegiate in Toronto were on edge Tuesday as reporters continued to search for information about a former student and two alleged terrorists.

Speaking on condition of anonymity, some students said they were "completely shocked" by the allegations against Amin Mohamed Durrani.

"He's just not the type of guy that the media says he is," said a student, who said he was a close friend of Durrani.

Most students declined to speak to reporters as per the instructions of watchful school officials. However, those who did said the allegations against Durrani, 19, "just don't make sense."

He has been charged with training and recruiting for a terrorist group.

"I never heard him talking about 9/11 or anything like that," said another student. However, those who said they know Durrani recalled the topic of terrorism and American politics came up in casual conversations since the terrorist attacks.

"But I don't remember Amin talking," said one female student. "If people started talking about 9/11, it would come from someone else and he would just stay quiet."

Other students recall the conversations as being very anti-American when Durrani was surrounded by a small group of teenage Muslims.

Two members of this group, described by students as "a grade or two" behind Durrani, are also in custody facing terrorism-related charges.

Fellow classmates say they noticed a change in Durrani towards the end of 2005 when he "stopped looking like the rest of us" and started hanging out with this close group of friends.

Preferring to wear more traditional Muslim garments, Durrani also started to skip class to pray with his friends at a nearby musalla, an informal place of worship, called Musalla-E-Namira.

"But I don't think that was a bad thing" said one of his former classmates. "I think he just wanted to be around people that he was starting to identify with."

Calls placed to the musalla were not returned. The entrance to the musalla was locked Tuesday with a hand-written note attached to the door stating: "Evening classes will be cancelled this week."

National Post